

THE WORLD HOMICIDE SURVEY

European area



Homicides in the European Caucasus

Olivier Gourdon, Merhunisa Veselji - ONDRP

The World Homicide Survey

The World Homicide Survey aims to explain the factors of the homicide rate's variations across the world using concepts which have, according to the dynamic theory of violence, a direct link to the prevalence of homicides, such as the presence of criminal organizations, corruption, firearms, and the general efficiency of criminal justice agencies.

Indeed, the dynamic theory of violence, developed by Marc Ouimet (University of Montreal), upholds the idea that a country's contextual factors (poverty, inequality, numbers of young people, etc.) act on other concepts with a more direct link to homicides. According to this theory, researches using variables such as the country's per-capita Gross Domestic Product or the Gini coefficient of income inequality do not measure what is closely related to homicide.

There are almost no available variables to characterize the most direct causes of homicide, but the project aimed to gather data by asking knowledgeable individuals their opinions on the social conditions in their country, the functioning of the criminal justice and the forms and prevalence of violence and homicide. This methodology is similar to that employed by *Transparency International* when creating its Corruption perception index.

The World Homicide Survey has been carried out by the University of Montreal and, in Europe, by the National Observatory on Crime and Criminal Justice (ONDRP) with the support of the CSFRS (*High Council for Education and Strategic Research*).

<https://inhesj.fr/ondrp/world-homicide-survey>

The ONDRP

Created in 2003, the National Observatory on Crime and Criminal Justice (ONDRP) is a department of the National Institute for Advanced Studies in Security and Justice (INHESJ).

Its missions are to measure and analyse crime tendencies in France and abroad through victimizations surveys, annual police data and statistics produced by all type of administration services, professional organizations and private bodies. The ONDRP produces regular publications and is involved in national and international research projects.

<http://inhesj.fr/ondrp/english>



Abstract

This article describes and analyses homicides in the countries of former Yugoslavia between 2007 and 2015. After providing an overview of the specific regional context shaped by the region's recent history, we go on to study the homicide rates in the countries it is composed of. The countries of former Yugoslavia record different homicide rates even though they have a common recent history and this article highlights possible explanations that.

Although most of our statistical analyses suggest that the variation in the homicide rate in this Southern European region is not connected with socioeconomic differences, the authors propose an explanation based on the dynamic theory of homicide.

Introduction

The European Caucasus region, also known as South Caucasus and Transcaucasia, is made up of three States that were once part of the former USSR: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. It lies on the frontier between Europe and Asia, between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, bordered by the Russian Federation, Turkey and Iran. Its European anchorage was emphasised when the three States became members of the Council of Europe in the early 2000s and by their participation in the European Union's Eastern partnership from 2009 onwards. Owing to their strategic geographical location, they are also at the heart of international issues which, besides Europe itself, involve Russia, which is determined to maintain its influence, Turkey, Iran and the United States. The South Caucasus is also an energy hub, where interests beyond its immediate neighbourhood converge. Finally, it is home to a culture that combines European and eastern aspects and which gives it a character all of its own.

The three States became independent in 1991. They are young countries in their modern form, sharing a common attachment to the former USSR but with cultural and religious differences and each with an age-old history prior to their annexation. Azerbaijan is by far the most heavily populated, with 9.8 million inhabitants in 2016, according to World Bank figures, across 86,600 km² of territory, followed by Georgia (3.7 million, 69,700 km²) and Armenia (2.9 million, 29,740 km²).

No sooner had the South Caucasus gained independence than it became the scene of a series of conflicts that have not been finally settled to this day: in Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh's Unilateral Declaration of Independence, supported by Armenia; in Georgia, secession of the territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, supported by Russia.

This article is in the context of the World Homicide Survey (WHS), a project implemented with a view to contributing to the explanation of variations in homicide rates across the world, and which the *Observatoire National de la Délinquance et des Réponses Pénales* (ONDRP – National Observatory of Crime and Criminal Justice) carried out in continental Europe. The South Caucasus' location on the European frontier attracted the attention of WHS team members: apart from the area's specificities, they found that there were very few available studies (at least in English) of homicide in the region, whereas the Survey itself sought to study factors influencing homicide rates in all the world's nations. They therefore paid special attention to the South Caucasus, resulting in two team members travelling to Azerbaijan in 2016 and the signing of agreements with Caucasus Research Resource Centres (CRRCs) for collection of data in Georgia and Armenia. As a result and in compliance with WHS methodology, questionnaires were completed in all 3 States (24 in Armenia, 13 in Azerbaijan and 39 in Georgia), detailing experts' perceptions of the situations in their countries. It was also possible to collect samples of administrative data, including numerous descriptive variables of acts of homicide, in Armenia (197 acts between 2011 and 2015) and Georgia (119 acts between 1999 and 2014).

Homicide rates in the South Caucasus

As regards recorded crime, caution should be exercised when making international comparisons as recording and listing procedures may differ considerably from one State to another. This may also be the case with the scope of indicators employed, largely due to national legislations and differences in victims' and witnesses' behaviour in their relations with the police.

Nonetheless, data supplied by the UNODC enables homicide rates per 100,000 inhabitants in the region's three States over the period 2004-2014 to be put into perspective. In Georgia, figures (provided by the National Statistics Office of Georgia) are missing for 2011 to 2013 but are available for 2014.

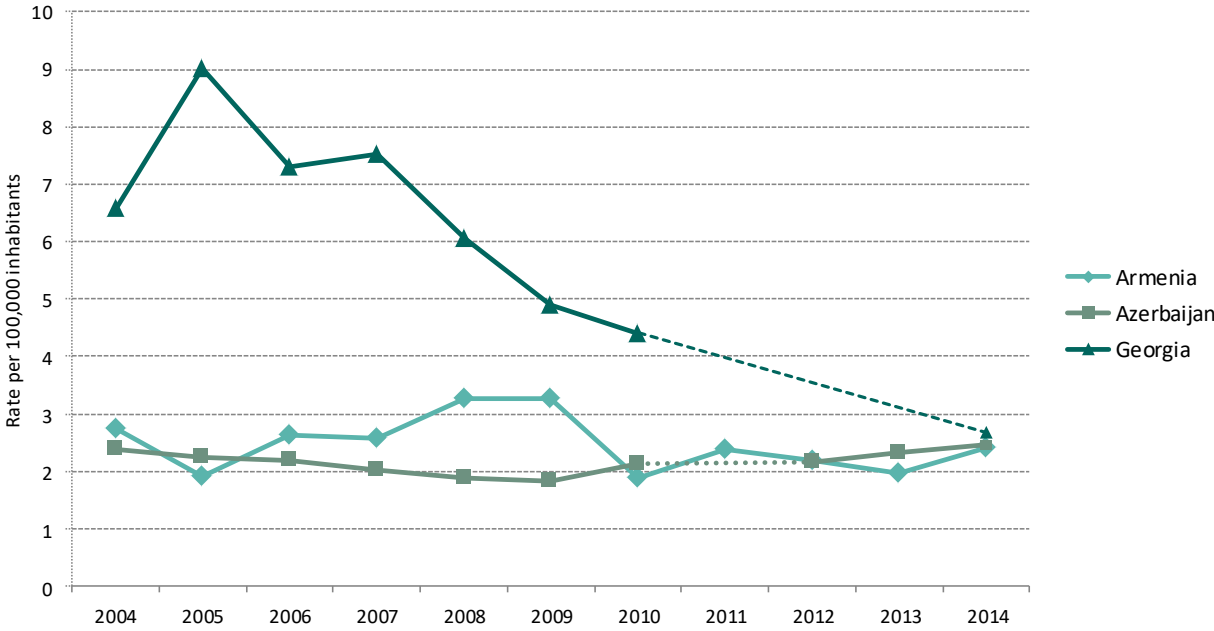
Azerbaijan and Armenia have comparable homicide rates, in the region of 2 per 100,000 inhabitants over the period under study, except for 2008 and 2009 when they were 3.3 in Armenia. In contrast, Georgia stands out from its two neighbours between 2004 and 2010, with rates between 2 and 4 times higher. The three States converged in 2014, with 2.4 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in Armenia, 2.5 in Azerbaijan and 2.7 in Georgia (in volume, 72, 236 and 108 acts respectively) (Graph 1).

A similar and relatively stable situation is therefore to be observed in two States over the eleven-year period (-0.3 points in Armenia, +0.1 in Azerbaijan), and a higher rate followed by a significant drop in Georgia (-3.9 points, almost three times fewer acts in eleven years).

In its 2013 report on homicide¹, the UNODC highlighted the fact that homicides in Asia (where the organisation locates the South Caucasus) followed a "regular downward trend" between 1995 and 2009, but that in Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, where rates also decreased, "homicide rates stabilised during most of the 1st decade of the 21st century". Homicide rates in Europe also fell over the same period, in particular in Eastern Europe since the beginning of the millennium, mainly due to the decrease recorded by the Russian Federation.

¹ https://www.unodc.org/documents/gsh/pdfs/2014_GLOBAL_HOMICIDE_BOOK_web.pdf

Graph 1. Homicide rate by country per 100,000 inhabitants, 2004 – 2014



Source: UNODC – processed by the ONDRP

Does the convergence of the region’s three States’ rates in 2014 mean that their current situation with regard to homicide is similar or does it mask differences in the characteristics of acts, perpetrators and victims? And does regional application of the dynamic theory of homicide developed for the World Homicide Survey (WHS) provide information that might explain the situation, in particular the major decrease recorded in Georgia? Data collected for the WHS and complemented by that provided by international organisations in compliance with the Survey’s methodology will enable us to explore these questions.

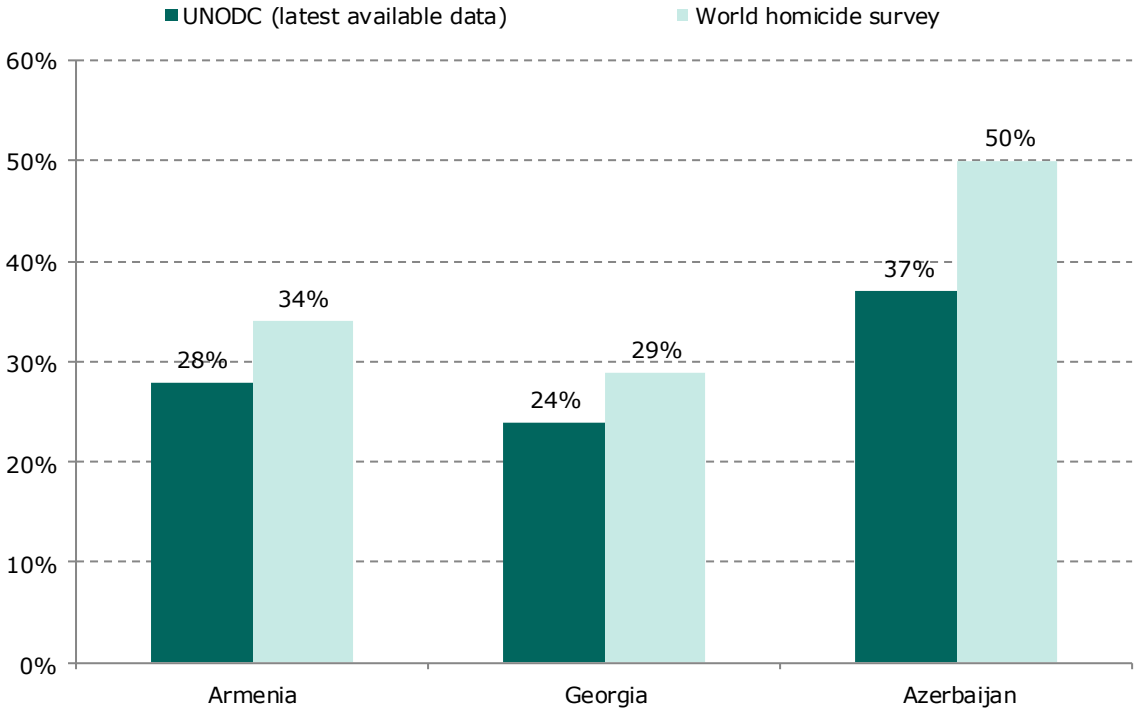
Distribution of homicides

Proportions of female homicide victims

Proportions of female homicide victims may be estimated with the help of the latest data made available by the UNODC along with data collected in the context of the WHS. Differences in estimations depending on sources² and years available for the UNODC (2014 for Armenia and Azerbaijan but 2011 for Georgia) only enable us to detect orders of magnitude, but nonetheless provide a general portrait of the region: Azerbaijan is the country with the highest number of female victims (37 – 50%), followed by Armenia (28 – 24%) and Georgia (24 – 29%) (Graph 2). According to the UNODC, the percentage in Azerbaijan is not only significantly higher than in the other two South Caucasian States, but also than the average in other European States (31%) and the very similar average for Eastern Europe (32%).

² In Azerbaijan, WHS respondents’ perceptions are higher than UNODC data but similar in Georgia and Armenia.

Graph 2. Percentage of female homicide victims in South Caucasus States



Sources: UNODC / WHS – processed by the ONDRP

Weapons used

As regards weapons used to commit homicides, Azerbaijan also stands out, as, according to WHS respondents, a firearm was used for 53.4% and 44.3% of every hundred victims in Georgia and Armenia respectively, but only in 16.4% of cases in Azerbaijan.

Distribution according to WHS typology

In the 1st section of the WHS questionnaire, four types of homicide were presented and respondents asked to estimate the distribution per 100 victims in their countries for a typical year.

According to responses collected, percentages of “intrafamily, spousal and crimes of passion” homicides are lower than the average for Eastern Europe (32.7%) in Georgia (20.8%) and Armenia (24.4%) but significantly higher in Azerbaijan (49.6%). This specificity of Azerbaijan’s was emphasised repeatedly by individuals and institutions met with by WHS team members visiting Baku, whatever their activity sector: spousal violence is clearly a major problem in Azerbaijan, as we shall see later.

In contrast, the percentage of victims of homicides committed “during a fight” is lower there than in the rest of the region: 28.3%, whereas it is higher than in Eastern Europe overall (33.3%) in Armenia (39.8%) and Georgia (43.9%). The same is also true of homicides connected with “conflict between criminals”, which account for 21 to 22% of victims in Armenia and Georgia, as against an average of 17.3% in Eastern Europe and only 13.5% in Azerbaijan.

Percentages of victims “during a theft, a rape or a kidnapping” are uniform in the South Caucasus, with an average of 15.7%.

While Georgia’s high homicide rate and recent decrease thereof singles it out in the region, as regards typology of homicides, Azerbaijan is characterised by its high percentage of “intrafamily, spousal and crimes of passion” homicides. The study of factors influencing homicide may well help explain such differences.

Contextual factors

The WHS's conceptual model postulates that the characteristics of a territory's ecosystem have an indirect impact on homicides, affecting the quality of formal social controls and the presence of violence triggers, both of which have a direct influence. It is employed to measure such factors using indicators provided by international organisations, with the exception of the estimation of the proportion of the population living in extreme poverty ("having difficulty feeding themselves"), which comes from the WHS questionnaire (Table 1).

Taken together, these variables show that the region is heterogeneous in terms of incomes and democracy. Essentially due to its resources resulting from exploitation of oil in the Caspian Sea, the per capita GDP, as measured by the World Bank in purchasing power parity, stood at \$7,891 in Azerbaijan in 2014, and close to half as much in Georgia (\$4,430) and Armenia (\$3,995). The situation in Azerbaijan is not associated with any greater inequality of incomes, as measured by the GINI Index, also provided by the World Bank (33.7 as against 40 in Georgia and 31.5 in Armenia). According to WHS data, a fifth of the country's population live in extreme poverty, a third in Georgia and 30% in Armenia.

The regional ecosystem's second characteristic measured by these indicators is the difference in levels of democracy between the three States: according to the index created by the Economist Group, Azerbaijan stands out once again, with the least democratic system, measured at 2.7 on a scale of 1 to 10, with Georgia better off in this regard with an index of 5.9, and Armenia in between the two with an index of 4. Georgia's more favourable situation may be connected with the 2003 "Rose Revolution" and the democratic change that came about in 2012, as well as the introduction of anti-corruption measures in the 2000s – a factor stressed by Transparency International and whose effects are to be found in the WHS variable for measuring corruption, which will be spoken of below. The improvement of Georgia's situation with regard to democracy may still be related to the level of corruption and perhaps has something to do with the remarkable decrease in homicides there indicated by the data available to us.

Finally, Azerbaijan is characterised by a younger population with a median age of 30.9, as against 34.6 in Armenia and 38 in Georgia. Urbanisation rates are relatively homogeneous in the region (between 53.6 and 62.7%).

Table 1. Contextual factors in the South Caucasus

	Per capita GDP, PPP (current international \$ 2014)	Gini Index (0 to 100)	Democracy Index (2015) (1 to 10)	Median age (2015)	Percentage of urbanised population (2015)	Poverty Index
Azerbaijan	7,891	33.7	2.7	30.9	54.6	20.2
Georgia	4,430	40	5.9	38	53.6	33.3
Armenia	3,995	31.5	4	34.6	62.7	30.7

Sources: World Bank, World Health Organisation, the Economist Intelligence Unit, WHS

Factors explaining homicide rates by South Caucasus State

The WHS takes two types of factors as having a possible direct influence on a territory's homicide rate: violence triggers, which group together a range of social and criminal acts and behaviours, and formal social control, which measures the functioning of the police, courts of justice and prisons³.

Azerbaijan: high fear of crime among women and a high level of corruption

One of the WHS model's eight indicators bore on fear of crime and was based on responses to the following two questions: for the whole country, what would be the proportion of women afraid to walk alone in their neighbourhood at night? What would be the proportion for men?

In Azerbaijan, the average of responses was 33.5% for women but only 5.5% for men. The situation in the country would therefore seem to be extremely unfavourable for women and puts it significantly above its Caucasian neighbours, as the rate is 21.6% in Georgia and 19.1% in Armenia, as well as above the European average (29.2%). The difference between men and women as regards their fear of crime is also remarkable and is the greatest in the region (Table 2).

Such strong fear of crime on the part of women may be connected with the high percentage of female homicide victims, as well as with the high proportion of "intrafamily, spousal and crimes of passion" homicides mentioned above. During the WHS team's mission in Azerbaijan, the problem of violence against women was brought up numerous times, by non-government organisations, international bodies such as the Council of Europe, and academics alike: inadequate punitive measures, inadequate regulation, existing laws seldom or never applied, including the law of 22 June 2010 bearing on prevention of spousal violence⁴, and acts of violence rarely reported to the authorities, above all in rural areas. Few statistics are available but non-government organisations consider that such violence is on the increase, due to growing economic difficulties and the rural exodus. The report on the Azerbaijan Demographic and Health Survey, carried out by the State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan in 2006, devotes a whole chapter to the assessment of domestic violence⁵, and in 2013 the United Nations organised a mission on violence against women, its causes and consequences, leading to a number of recommendations to the government, bearing in particular on application of existing laws and stressing the absence of reliable information and statistics on the subject⁶.

The difficulty in applying reforms was also mentioned numerous times in the course of the mission, and its connection with corruption in public services. Formal social control is of poor quality in Azerbaijan, which records the region's highest WHS institutional corruption index (covering police and judiciary): 1.5 on a scale of -3 to 3, as against 0.6 in Armenia, 0.1 in Georgia and an average of -0.1 in Europe). Another WHS indicator, measuring the quality of judicial and police functioning and based on responses to six questions on the independence and impartiality of the judiciary and the police⁷, is also low in Azerbaijan (2.4 on a scale of 1 to 5, as against an average of 3.4 in Europe). The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) created by Transparency International with a scale going from 0 (where the country is perceived as very corrupt) to 100 (where it is seen as being minimally corrupt), was 30 in 2016, putting the country low in global classification, in 123rd place out of 176.

³ *Factors explaining homicide rates in Europe*, *ibid.*

⁴ <http://cis-legislation.com/document.fwx?rgn=32050>

⁵ <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/fr195/fr195.pdf>

⁶ http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session26/Documents/A_HRC_26_38_Add_3_SPA.doc

⁷ Give your opinion on the following questions: judges are independent and are not subject to external pressures; civil courts protect property rights (land, goods); people charged before the courts have access to a fair trial; the police protect the interests of people in power rather than the interests of the population; the police are intimidated by criminal organisations; people are afraid of the police.

In Azerbaijan, other WHS indicators designed to measure the influence of direct factors on the homicide rate are below or similar to European and South Caucasus averages: the impact of drug trafficking, actual or past civil war (despite the conflict still underway with Armenia on the subject of Nagorno-Karabakh) and accessibility of firearms. It is above all the situation with regard to violence against women, along with corruption and its consequences, that characterises factors influencing homicides in Azerbaijan (Table 2).

Georgia: quality of formal social control above the regional average but more marked impact of problems connected with drug trafficking and civil war

A number of Transparency International's reports have emphasised the clear improvement in Georgia's situation with regard to corruption. Measured by the WHS in 2016, institutional (police and judiciary) corruption is (as has already been said concerning the much less favourable situation in Azerbaijan) the lowest in the region and close to the European average. Criminalisation of active and passive corruption, the fight against money laundering and a series of measures to accompany these reforms, enacted from 2003 onwards; seem to have been effective, even though there is still a lack of balance of powers to the advantage of a strong executive branch, with inadequate parliamentary control and a degree of opaqueness in the economic sector. Georgia's homicide rate started to fall in 2005, following implementation of these measures.

As regards violence triggers, the population having access to firearms was measured at 29.9% in the WHS, the region's highest percentage. A quarter of all men frequently carried one or had one in their vehicle. Distribution of homicides showed that over one in two victims was killed by a firearm. Various researchers have shown that accessibility of firearms accentuates the prevalence of homicides⁸: this may well be the case in Georgia.

In the WHS structural equation model applied to the firearm homicide rate, the more violence triggers are present in a country, the higher the firearm homicide is. What are Georgia's other violence triggers? WHS experts stressed that drug trafficking impacts the quality of life of a segment of the population to an index of 3.4 on a scale of 1 to 5. Estimations are lower in Azerbaijan (2.5) and Armenia (2). Criminal organisations are more active in Georgia, which shares a border with Russia, than in the rest of the South Caucasus.

There are also the effects of disruptions following the secessions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, in WHS experts' estimations of impacts connected with "actual or past civil wars", which they measure at 4 on a scale of 1 to 5. Such impacts are half as great in Armenia and Azerbaijan despite the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

⁸ Hemenway, Miller, & Azrael, 2000; Killias & Markwalder, 2012

Armenia: a high level of corruption and low appreciation of the functioning of institutions

Generally speaking, Armenia is situated between Azerbaijan and Georgia as regards all the factors that might influence the homicide rate. Nonetheless, it turns out that the country suffers a noticeably high level of corruption along with its population's overall dissatisfaction with the way its institutions function.

In 2016, Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index was 33 in Armenia, just above Azerbaijan's, ranking the country 113th out of 176 at global level, almost in the last third of the most corrupt States. The same situation is to be found in estimations made in the context of the WHS, in which institutional corruption (police and judiciary) stands at 0.6 on a scale of -3 to +3, as against a European average of -0.1. Inadequate separation of powers, the involvement of those in power in economic activities and the scale of the underground economy are all factors favouring the continuation, even the development of corruption in the country. Measures implemented with a view to stabilising the way institutions function seem to have had little effect, with Transparency International's Corruption Perception falling by 4 points in Armenia between 2013 and 2016.

Appreciation of institutions stands at 2.4 in Armenia (on a scale of 1 to 5), at the same level as in Azerbaijan. This has no apparent connection with levels of democracy measured by the Economist Group, which, as we have already seen, stand at 4 and 2.7 respectively: the two States have very different political regimes. More specifically, the Armenian population's levels of satisfaction by institution are as follows: police services, 2.5; criminal courts, 2.3; civil courts, 2.7; prisons and correctional services, 2.

The quality of the police and judicial system's functioning is also relatively low: 2.7, an average figure for the South Caucasus but below the European average (3.4). However, the final component of formal social control, the effectiveness of the justice system, corresponding to the identification and conviction rate, is the best in the South Caucasus and close to the average for Eastern Europe.

What therefore stands out in Armenia's situation with regard to factors influencing the homicide rate is the low quality of formal social control, and in particular the population's low appreciation of the country's institutions, and the high level of corruption.

It should also be borne in mind that, in almost one out of every two cases of homicide in Armenia (44.3%), the victim's death was caused by a firearm, whereas only 9% of the population have access to such weapons, a lower rate than its Caucasian neighbours and below the European average (12.9%). Furthermore, as regards distribution of types of homicide, conflicts between criminals account for 22.4% of victims, the highest percentage in the South Caucasus. In the WHS's alternative source of data, comprising a sample of 197 homicides committed in Armenia between 2011 and 2015 and collected from police services and the media, 14.2% of homicides were connected with criminal activities.

Table 2. Violence triggers in the South Caucasus

	Accessibility of firearms (0 to 100)	Impact of drug trafficking (1 to 5)	Fear of crime among women (0 to 100)	Fear of crime among men (0 to 100)	Impact of civil war (1 to 5)
Azerbaijan	4.2	2.5	33.5	5.5	2.2
Georgia	29.9	3.4	21.6	6.3	4
Armenia	9	2	19.1	4.5	1.6
Continental Europe	12.9	2.7	29.2	12.7	2.1

Source: *WHS*

Table 3. Measurements of quality of formal social control in the South Caucasus

	Institutional corruption (police and judiciary) (-3 to +3)	Quality of judicial and police functioning (1 to 5)	Effectiveness of the penal system (identification and conviction rate, %)	Satisfaction with institutions (1 to 5)
Azerbaijan	1.5	2.4	63.9	2.4
Georgia	0.1	3.1	63	3
Armenia	0.6	2.7	66.1	2.4
Continental Europe	-0.1	3.4	68.2	2.9

Source: *WHS*

Therefore, although homicide rates were relatively similar in the three South Caucasus States in 2014, their situations with regard to factors influencing violence were very different, which suggested that data provided by UNODC might well evolve: in Azerbaijan, factors dominated by a cultural and penal situation fostering a degree of violence against women, and institutional corruption connected with the country's political regime; in Georgia, persistence of historical factors (links with the Soviet Union and Russian criminal organisations, and territorial secessions) restricting formal social control above regional level; and, in Armenia, an in-between situation with regard to all factors, with formal social control marked by corruption and a measure of dissatisfaction among the population with the way institutions functioned. A more in-depth study, with evolving statistics and based on samples of greater size and more comparative elements, would enable consolidation and clarification of the analyses presented above. *WHS* data is not yet sufficiently developed in Asia: comparison with the States of the Asian Caucasus as well as with Asia as a whole would be necessary.

Annex

Homicides in Georgia and Armenia: analysis of a sample

In the context of the WHS, agreements were signed with the Caucasus Research Resource Centres, which took on the task of gathering detailed information from the police and the media on a sample of homicides committed on the territory. The information they collected only concerns a fraction of the homicides committed in the two countries and is consequently not representative of the characteristics of all homicides committed. For Armenia, the database created lists 197 cases of homicide between 2011 and 2015, while Georgia's lists 119 cases between 1999 and 2014.

Table 1. Distribution of homicides on which it was possible to collect detailed information

Year	Armenia	Georgia
1999		1
2007		1
2009		7
2010		26
2011	33	28
2012	31	15
2013	45	27
2014	57	14
2015	31	
Total cases	197	119

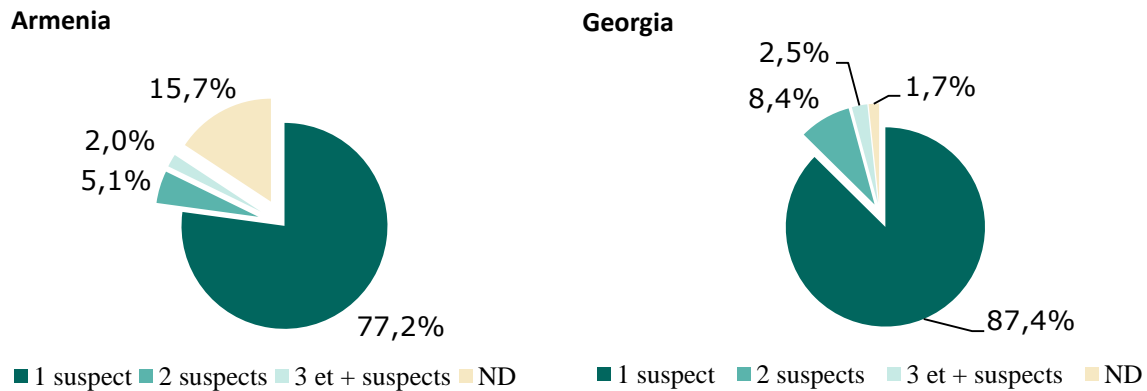
Exploitation of these databases enables us to provide an overview of the characteristics of homicides, victims and suspects arrested, but with no claim to exhaustiveness. Results should be interpreted with caution and not generalised to all homicides committed in the two countries. They are only useful with regard to characteristics for which the no-information rate is less than 40%.

Characteristics of homicides

Detailed information on homicides in Armenia was provided for 197 cases, with a total of 212 victims and 185 suspects arrested; and for 119 cases in Georgia, with a total of 126 victims and 137 suspects arrested.

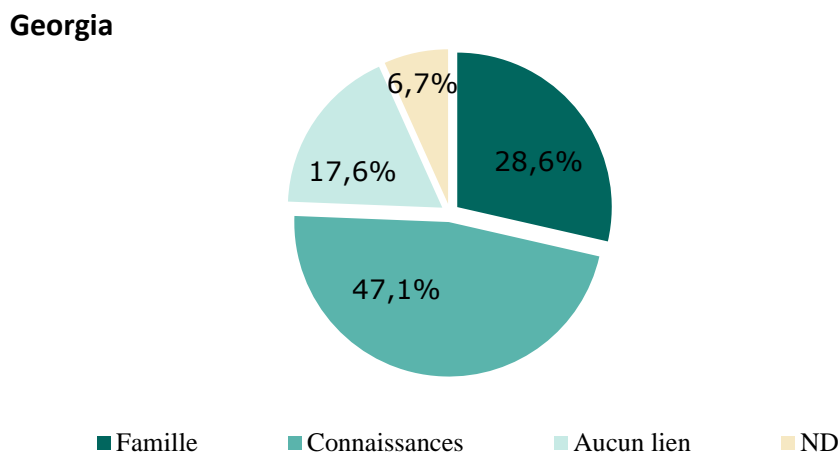
Using the information collected, it was possible to divide homicides up into four categories: intrafamily/spousal, altercation/conflict, connected with criminal activity, and other. In Armenia, 31% (n=61) of homicides were connected with altercations, 27.4% (n=56) were committed in a family context, 14.2% (n=28) were connected with criminal activity and 1.5% (n=3) fell into the "other" category. In Georgia, however, practically two thirds of all homicides (57%) were connected with altercations (n=68), just over a quarter (26.1%) were committed in a family context (n=31), 5.9% (n=7) were connected with criminal activity, and 9.2% (n=11) fell into the "other" category.

Figure 1. Cases where suspects were arrested



In Georgia, the largest percentage (47.1%) of homicides were committed between acquaintances (n=56), followed by family members in 28.6% (n=34) of cases; in 17.6% (n=21) of cases, there was no connection between victim and suspect. Data for Armenia on connections between victims and suspects cannot be usefully exploited as the no information rate exceeds 50%.

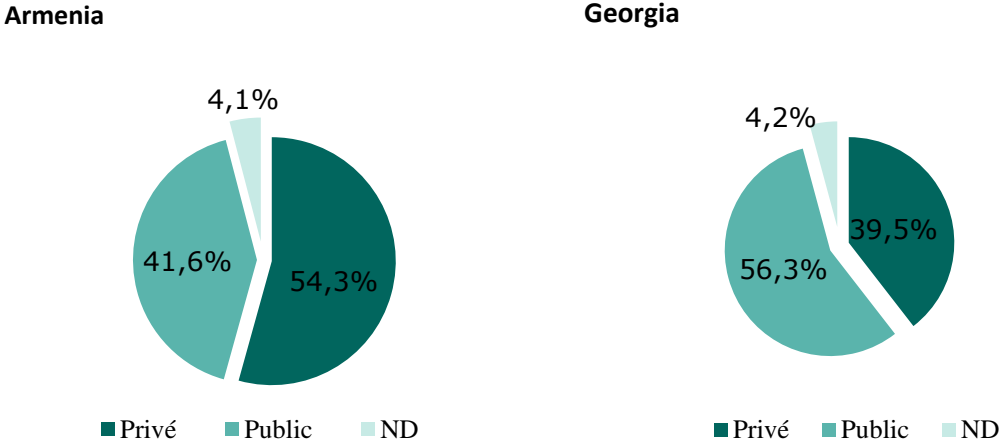
Figure 4. Connection between victim and suspect



Places of commission and urban/rural areas

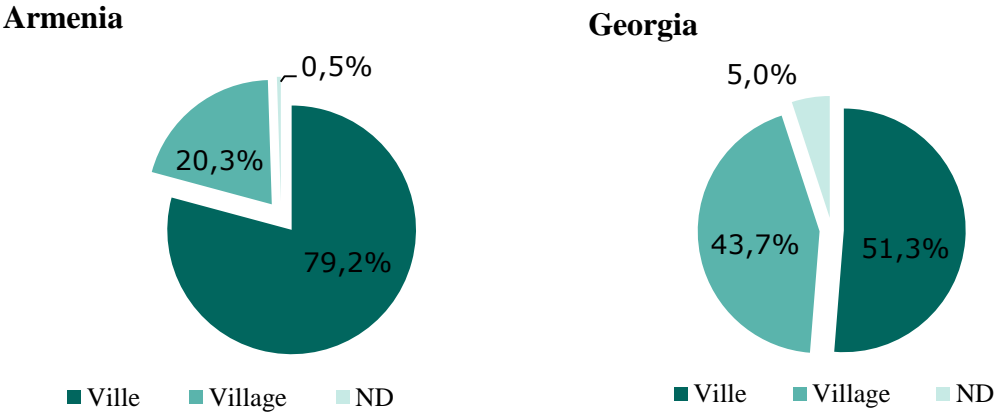
It turns out that, in Armenia, over half of all homicides in the sample (56.6%, n=107) were committed in a private place, while in Georgia, 58.8% (n=67) of homicides were committed in a public place.

Figure 3. Places of commission



As regards Armenia, 79.6% (n=156) of homicides were committed in a town and only 20.4% (n=40) in a village, while in Georgia 54% (n=61) of homicides were committed in a town and 46 % (n=52) in a village. It is worth noting that the town/ village distribution is very similar in Georgia whereas there is a significant difference in Armenia, where only a fifth of homicides were committed in a village.

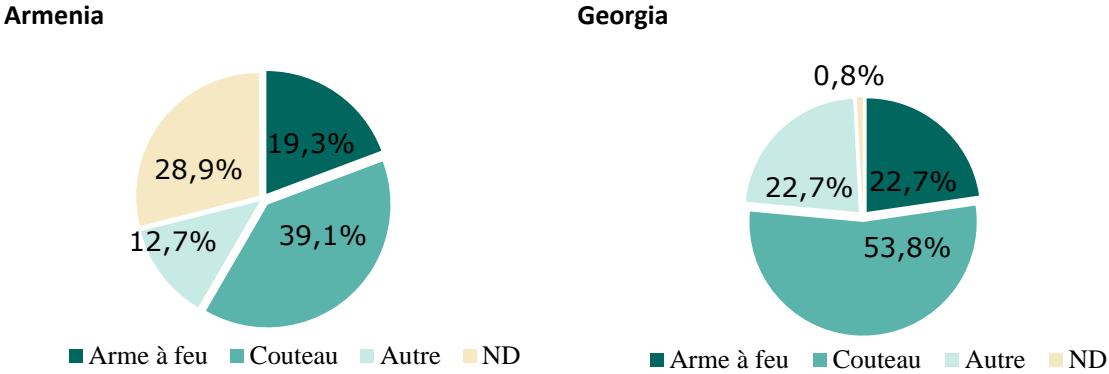
Figure 4. Urban/rural areas



Types of weapon

In Armenia, 39.1% (n=77) of homicides were committed with a knife, 19.3% (n=38) with a firearm and 12.7% (n=25) with the help of another object. In Georgia, 53.8% (n=64) of homicides were committed with a knife, with the same percentage for firearms and other objects: 22.7% (n=27) in both cases.

Figure 5. Types of weapon

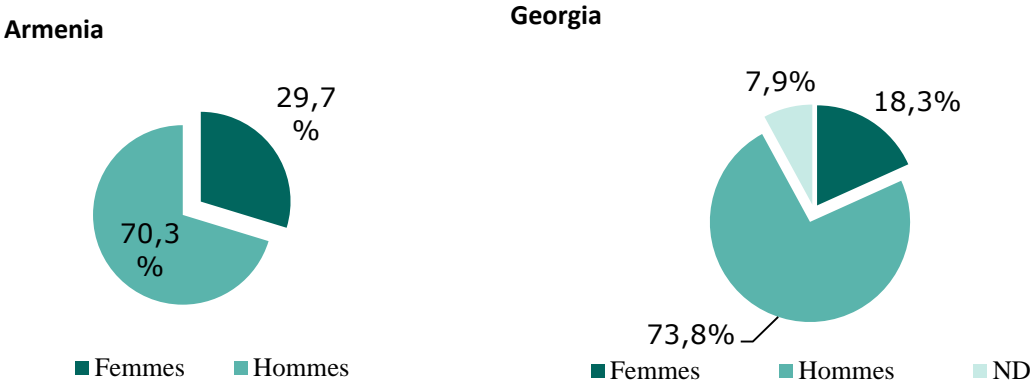


Characteristics of victims and suspects

Gender

In Armenia, 29.7% (n=63) of homicide victims were women and 70.3% (n=149) men, while in Georgia, 18.3% (n=23) of homicide victims were women and 73.8% (n=93) men. In both countries, there was a higher percentage of male homicide victims than female victims.

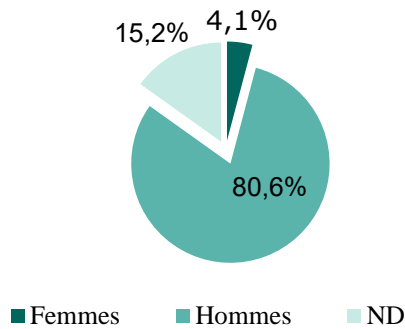
Figure 6. Distribution of victims by gender



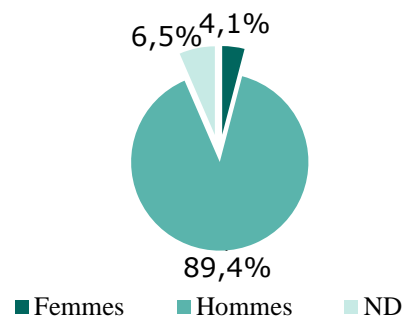
In Armenia, 80.6% (n=175) of homicide suspects were men as against only 4.1% (n=9) of female suspects, which is similar to the distribution in Georgia: 89.4% (n=110) and 4.1% (n=5) respectively.

Figure 7. Distribution of suspects arrested by gender

Armenia



Georgia



Age

In Armenia, the average age of victims was 44 (n=193), with an average of 51 y/o for female victims (n=58) and 41 y/o for male victims (n=135). The average age of suspects was 37.5 (n=159), with an average of 38.5 y/o for female suspects (n=8) and 37.5 y/o for male suspects (n=151). It would appear that suspects are younger than victims when it comes to homicide.

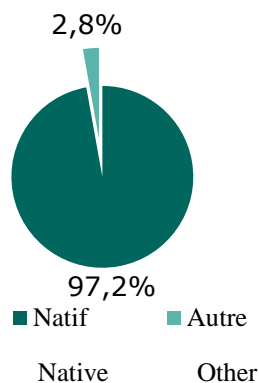
As there is too little information on the ages of victims in Georgia, it would not be useful to comment on the figures available.

Nationality

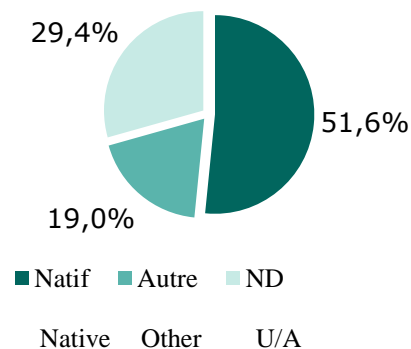
In Armenia, 97.2% (n=206) of victims were of Armenian origin and only 2.8% (n=6) from another country. As regards Georgia, 51.6% (n=65) of victims were of Georgian origin and 19% (n=24) from another country; no information was available for 29.4% of victims.

Figure 10. Victims' nationalities

Armenia



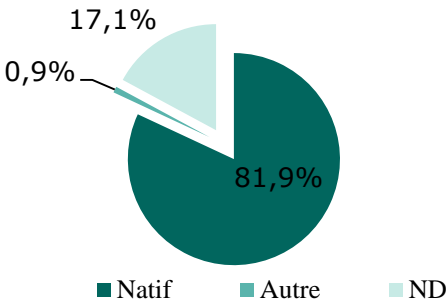
Georgia



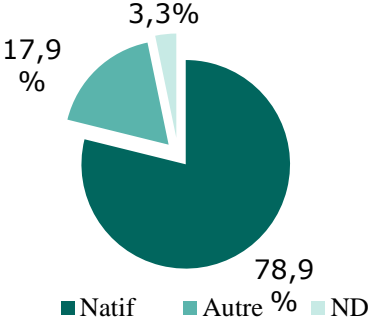
In Armenia, 81.9% of suspects arrested (n=177) were of Armenian origin and only 0.9% (n=2) foreigners, while in Georgia, 78.9% (n=97) were of Georgian origin and 17.9% (n=22) foreign. There were more individuals of foreign origin involved in homicides in Georgia than in Armenia.

Figure 11. Nationality of suspects arrested

Armenia



Georgia





NATIONAL OBSERVATORY
ON CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE
<https://inhesj.fr/ondrp/english>